

K Tudor

A

GRATULATORY ADDRESS,

DELIVERED JULY 5th, 1790, BEFORE THE

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GRATULATORY ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY W. TUDOR, ESQ. AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

SOCIETY OF THE

THIS Address was calculated only for the minute. The idea of publication was not admitted by the author at the time of composing it. But an injunction which was not to be resisted, controuled a different resolution. A vivid expression was sought for to conceal its defects, and to agree with the festivity of the Season. As great candour as was discovered at the delivery will be indispensable to make it sufferable in the closet.

W. TUDOR.



AN

ADDRESS, &c.

IN the complete possession of PEACE, LIBERTY and SAFETY, we are now assembled, *my beloved Countrymen*, to celebrate the Birth-day of our Nation.—A Day sacred to Freedom and triumphant Patriotism ! A Day, which sixteen years since, the boldest heart and most illumined mind had not anticipated.

AMERICANS ! YE are now convened, not, in adulatory strains, to hail the nativity of a victorious master, but to commemorate the glorious Epoch that gave ye a Government of Laws and not of Men ; and while your souls dilate at the joyful festival, ye will recollect those ties which bind ye to your Country ; and, with sincerity, re-
iterate

iterate those virtuous resolutions, that strengthen, while they brighten the chain of union that has now ranked us with the Nations of the earth.

To ascertain the precise time, under the administration of a CECIL or a CHATHAM, when *Britain* and her Colonies must have separated, might afford amusement to a speculative inquirer, but can be of no utility now.—That the crisis was precipitated is conceded—But it was not the despotic statutes of England—It was not the haughty and fastidious manners of her officers, civil or military, which compelled the mighty Revolution which severed her Empire. These did rouse, but they could not create that unconquerable spirit which stimulated America to vindicate, and irrevocably to fix those rights, which distance, and other causes, might, for ages, have kept indefinite, dependent and precarious.—No—it was that native fervid sense of Freedom which our enlightened ancestors brought with them and fostered in the forests of *America*; and which, with pious care, they taught their offspring never to forego. Although the present age cannot forget, and posterity shall learn to remember those violences which impelled their

their country to war, yet it must be admitted that the period of parting had arrived. British influence, and foreign arts, might have corrupted, silenced, or destroyed that spirit, which, thus early outraged, became invincible, gave birth to the immortal Edict, and all those glorious circumstances in which we this day rejoice.

WHOLE Oceans rolled between, yet the Colonies retained a strong attachment to their parent state. The numerous memorials transmitted from every Province to that infatuated Country, remain the evidence of their patience and affection :—But deaf to the voice of supplication, and aloof to intreaty, she added indignity to wrong, until “humility was tortured into rage.”—Oppression crowded upon oppression, until submission was criminal and resistance became an obligation. On this auspicious day, and through every revolving year, the magnanimity exhibited by our country at that all-interesting and momentous crisis, shall cheer the patriot mind, and raise a glow of honest pride. She neither hesitated nor halted, but sacrificing her attachments at the shrine of duty—appealed to God and her sword, for justice and success ;—
Heaven.

Heaven approbated the appeal—invigorated her councils, and pointed the road to victory—That sword which she drew by compulsion, she wore with honour, and, her enemies have confessed, that she sheathed it without revenge.

IN this eventful struggle, many sacrifices were to be made that came near the heart ; and if, to day, your affections are called out, for the loss of Fathers, Friends, and Brothers, check not the tear, for it is the tear of virtue. Your consolation is, that thus falling, they greatly discharged the severest duty of men and citizens. I mean not here to traverse with you the plains of death, nor to resuscitate the sorrows of the tomb. The altars of Liberty require many victims.—Those patriot soldiers devoted their lives to our safety ; their deaths extended the publick fame ; and may the gratitude of their country be immortal.

THE talents and integrity of those Statesmen who conceived and directed the measures which broke the yoke of foreign sway, cannot be contemplated without admiration. The thunders of Albion in vain poured forth their terrors : The
collected

collected vengeance of Britain menaced but to inspire. Depravity could find no lurking place, and venality dared not approach the steeled breasts of men who sought a hallowed fame in the rescue of millions from distant tyranny. Posterity must often recall the names of those deliverers, and in copying their bright examples pursue the surest road to substantial glory.*

It is not enough, my Countrymen, that the decisive fiat we this day consecrate, became a record in Heaven; It is not enough, that victory and peace secured and confirmed our rights: It is not enough, that the United States embrace a territory equal in extent to the Roman World: It is not enough, that in our Federal and State Constitutions

NOTE.

* It will not be invidious, perhaps, in this illustrious Group, to distinguish the two characters whom the people have delighted to honour. It certainly augured well to the new, united Government, that in their first setting out they bestowed the first posts of honour and trust upon their two most meritorious and efficient citizens. The successful negotiation with Holland, and the definitive treaty of Paris will forever endear the name of JOHN ADAMS to the People of America. And his invaluable services at home, and in Europe, continue to be remembered as long as gratitude shall be thought a virtue.

tions, we boast the freest Governments on earth :—
It yet remains to perfect and establish the true
principles of social Life, Laws, Agriculture, Science,
with all the Arts that ameliorate and multiply the human species.

DURING the arduous contest, the arms of America were borne by men who had a country to love, a property to defend, and a share in enacting laws which it was their interest as well as duty to maintain. Tranquility restored, with joy her soldiers became retired citizens. War is the disgrace and calamity of human nature : And forever distant be the day in this country, when it shall be encouraged as an art, and be debased into a trade.

AND here, *My dear Associates !* Permit an Address which may be construed as an apology that your Institution most assuredly does not want.—The society hath been faulted by those who never saw its rules, or knowing have misconstrued them. Canons which inculcate “ *the duty of laying down in Peace arms assumed for the publick defence.*” But

“ *Perish the narrow Thought, the sland'rous Tongue,*

“ *Where the Heart's right, the Action can't be wrong.*”

To

To the generous sense of a grateful Country,
your APPEAL has been made : And do I mistake ?
Or do I hear that Country exclaim—*By the Toils
which cemented your Friendships—by the dangers
encountered in the fair Fields of Fight—by the Blood of
our slaughtered, faithful Sons, who so greatly thought,
and nobly dared—by the merits of our WASHING-
TON—we swear ! that ye have not offended.*

Most honourable would be the retrospect,
and pleasant the employment, to retrace our infant
Country through the scenes of warfare, and to
mark her conduct under alternate Victory and
Retreat, did not such a task more properly become
the Historian, than comport with this occasion. It
is enough to say, she sustained misfortune with con-
stancy—collected, she met Independence and So-
vereignty—She triumphed, but she did not insult.

THE five succeeding years of Peace, important
as they were, passed neglected ; and, flying, left an
unfortunate blank in her annals. National wisdom
in most countries hath been slow, in all progressive.
America, springing from the cradle of Empire, had
much to learn ; and every thing, in national legis-
lative

lative politicks, to experiment. Those jealousies which had been so long encouraged as political wisdom ;—the recent escape from the abuses of monarchical establishments ; and a too fond adherence to local rule ; all combined to retard that efficient and united policy ; which alone could have exalted our nation, while it would have equally diffused all the blessings of the social compact. The humiliating situation was at length surmounted, and we now enjoy a system of confederated, or rather CONSOLIDATED* government, which honestly conducted

NOTE.

* "In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us, the greatest interest of every true American, the *Consolidation of our Union*, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps, our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention, to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected : and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable." (*Letter from the Federal Convention, to the President of Congress.*)

Whoever has read and considered the Constitution of the United States, can be at no loss to know where lies the Sovereignty of our Nation. With Congress is deposited the exclusive Power of making Peace and War, forming Treas-

conducted, must command respect abroad, and ought to produce contentment at home.

Our public officers are the accountable ministers of the laws—our legislative servants return and mingle, at short periods, with their fellow-citizens. With caution elect, but the delegation once committed, let us not withhold a generous confidence in our Rulers. With candour pass upon their deliberations, and with manly patience await the beneficial

NOTE.

ties, coining Money, raising and supporting Armies and a Navy, calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions, to establish Rules of Naturalization, Laws of Bankruptcies, &c.

Our National Government has sometimes, *but most improperly*, been called a Federal Republic; for a Federal Republic is an association of a number of independent *sovereign* States. Unanimity is essential to a Federal Republic, because each State possesses sovereign powers. But unanimity is not necessary according to our National Constitution; and it would be ruinous to have made it so. The greatest Civilians have all agreed that the *summa Imperii* is indivisible. That the *Imperium in Imperio* is a solecism. And history and experience have made that opinion oracular. Although there exists in some instances a militation between the National and State Governments, yet it is presumed, for the reasons offered, that the expression is true, and that we must be considered as a CONSOLIDATED, and not a confederated Republic.

beneficial consequences, presumed to flow from their public acts. Many discordant interests, are to be accommodated.—Character, attachment, the desire of securing future honours, all the views that stimulate the human heart, press upon the public servants to a faithful discharge of their national duties. The present ought, therefore, to be the period of trust, not of suspicion, still less of aspersions. AMERICANS ! Ye have fought the battles of mankind—ye have here enkindled that sacred flame of Freedom, which is now expanding its warmth, and dispersing its beams, throughout a great part of Europe :—Do not then suffer precipitation and intemperance to defeat the just expectations of the wise and the good, who have so often, although so vainly, in most countries, dared to advocate the rights of man. But may your conduct and your history demonstrate, that a government, free as your own, may be maintained without turbulence, administered with energy and dignity, and while it advances the happiness of all its subjects, can extend the glory of their Empire.

OUR

OUR great transmarine distance from EUROPE, and all her ambitious, jarring, and rival interests, justifies the expectation of long Peace. The valuable and various natural riches of the Southern—the climate, population, and manufactures of the Central—joined to the hardihood and enterprize of the Eastern States, form a mass of resource and strength unexampled in the history of any country, equally young.

WHAT shore have your Ships not coasted?—
And where swells the wave, on which your Flag
has not been displayed? From the wilds of *California*, to the extreme domains of *Asia*—in *Arctic Seas*,
and *Solstitial Climes*—your seamen have dared the
tempest

NOTE.

* Any person that will trace the circumnavigatory route of the *Columbia* and *Washington*, the two ships fitted out at *Boston*, by Messrs BARREL, BROWN, BULLFINCH, HATCH, &c. after being informed that one of those vessels was burthened ninety tons only, with a single deck, and one mast, and that they traversed a great portion of the South and North Pacific Ocean ;—attends to the voyage of the ship *Alliance*, in 1787 ; and remember that there were seventeen sail of American ships, lying in the road of *Canton*, the last season, besides those in different ports of the *East-Indies*, will not pronounce this paragraph to be a mere flight of fancy.

tempest, and provoked the storm. The islands of either *India*, and of every ocean, have been but stages to refresh the dauntless navigators of your country.

Look throughout your now united Dominions, Count the variety of her important and capital staples—See labour daily becoming more productive—Manufactures multiplying*—the Mechanick Arts improving :—What then remains but to assume a national tone.—To feel ourselves AMERICANS, and to continue, as brethren of the same mighty family, to love each other, to reverence the laws, and to be the happiest nation below the stars.

NOTE.

* From accurate inquiry it has been found, that within the last year, there was manufactured in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, upwards of two thousand tons of goods, more than was made therein in 1773.

